

## Down with Tordesillas!

Jorge Schwartz

Translated by Noël de Souza

Revised by Mark Streeter

... children from the same continent, almost of the same land, hailing from the same peoples, in short from the same race, or at least from the same cultural background. We, Latin Americans, share great common interests and live, slightly more than others do, but indifferent to each other, ignoring one another almost totally.

Words of welcome addressed by José Veríssimo to Rubén Darío, on the occasion of his visit to the Academia Brasileira de Letras, in 1912.

Continentalist rhetoric has increasingly utilized the term “Latin America.” But does Brazil, the “sleeping giant,” continue to be ignored by the critics that seek to look at the literary works of the continent in an open-minded fashion? Are Mário de Andrade’s words from April 1928 still relevant? He said that “in the huge corner of South America, Brazil stands immense and alien.”<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, if we extend the statement and interrogate Brazil’s position in the *corpus* of Latin America’s literary critical discourse. It is worth recalling César Vallejo’s words from 1926:

Latin America. Two words, which in Europe have been and are exploited in all manners imaginable of ruthless ambition: Latin America. It is a name that you can put up and take down, from one boulevard to another in Paris, from one museum to another, from one magazine to another, be it merely literary or in-between. In the name of Latin America they gain wealth, fame and prestige. Latin America lends itself to speeches, verses, tales, film festivals with music, food and beverages and Sunday entertainment. In the name of Latin America plundering is on the

rise by European officials who exploit the humiliaties of an America they can boast about while propagating a senseless folklore and archeology and offering decorative aphorisms of a cheap sociology. In the name of Latin America the perilous diplomatic role of oratory is practiced, rife with flattery at banquets and anniversaries, for the benefit of the dazzling lions of European politics. These two words lend themselves to all of this. They are greatly used by all those who cannot do a thing on their own, except hang on to their country of origin, to events gone by and to family ties.<sup>2</sup>

Obviously, Vallejo here was very far from thinking of Brazil's problematic integration into Latin America. But he did capture the timely use of the term, and it is possible that he was a witness to its use in Paris during the 1920s, when he wrote this piece. I am prompted yet to wonder how far Brazil finds itself today from the conditions described decades ago by Mário de Andrade and César Vallejo.

Without dwelling on the historical issues, which explain the existing cultural chasm between Spain and Portugal,<sup>3</sup> I would like to mention at the outset the classic language problem that makes Spanish more accessible to the Brazilian reader than Portuguese to the Hispano-American reader. This is one of the barriers that has kept the Hispano-Americans away from reading works written in Portuguese. Save a few exceptional cases, the literary critics of Brazil have shown much greater interest in their neighbors' literature than have the latter shown for Brazilian literature. It has only been since the middle of the twentieth century that you find any Hispanic intellectual who showed the same all-encompassing and systematic interest that José Veríssimo, Mário de Andrade or Manuel Bandeira devoted to the literatures of the continent.

Mindful of this problem, Emir Rodríguez Monegal, who always swam in both waters, stated that "cultivated Brazilians are far more familiar with Hispano-American literature and read more of it than do their Hispanic colleagues of Brazilian literature, due to their laziness (or their inability) to find out if indeed Portuguese is truly hard to read."<sup>4</sup>

Alfonso Reyes is a case in point. He scarcely benefited from his experience as a diplomat in Brazil in terms of a closer exchange with Brazilian literature. During the four years he was in Rio de Janeiro as the head of the Monterrey *Correo Literario de Alfonso Reyes* (an erudite periodical published entirely in Spanish), he devoted an extremely small space to

Brazil. His experiences were nothing more than anecdotal or personal, and Brazil hardly exerted any influence on his thinking. Even so, there were some exceptions, such as the implicit dialogue between Sor Juana and Padre Vieira, for instance, bringing to light one of the keenest and most controversial aspects of the Mexican poetess; the obvious influence of Góngora and Quevedo in Gregório de Matos' work, the greatest Brazilian Baroque poet; or the presence of Latin America in *O Guesa Errante* by Sousândrade. These writers nonetheless did not bother with creating a literary system. (As Antonio Candido points out, this is a process that was not to take place until the nineteenth century.) At the present moment it is not of any particular interest to examine these rare examples of literary intertextuality between the literatures of the Spanish and Portuguese languages. What I am seeking is to provide a critical reflection on the place Brazil occupies in Latin America.

We also need to remember that as of 1850, when attempts were being made to distinguish a Latin American culture from an Anglo-American one, Brazil was a monarchy surrounded by republics. In contrast, most of the Spanish-speaking countries had begun their independence process in the early decades of the nineteenth century accompanied, almost without exception, by movements affirming a national language. Thus, besides the linguistic and cultural differences, there was a huge political rift.

As a concept applied to political and literary matters alike, the term "Latin America" emerges for the very first time in 1836, in an article by Michel Chevalier, and was vigorously taken up by the Colombian writer and diplomat José María Torres Caicedo (1827-1889). Torres Caicedo was a staunch champion and the greatest disseminator of the term in the second half of the nineteenth century, in particular through his book *Unión Latinoamericana* (1865). His work was exhumed from oblivion by the Venezuelan Arturo Ardao who defends Caicedo's ideas in the seminal *Génesis de la Idea y el Nombre de América Latina* (1980), and commits himself, *inter alia*, to correct the error—today almost a myth—of the term "Latin America" as having been coined and spread by the ideologues of Napoleon III as a justification for the invasion of Mexico.<sup>5</sup> Further, in the extraordinary *América Latina en su Literatura* (1972), the organizer César Fernández Moreno encountered difficulties in forming an opinion about the term: "Latin America, although an undefined entity, is one that presents at first glance the consistency of the real."<sup>6</sup>

From an Hispanic point of view, I can mention the works of Arturo Torres-Ríoeco (*Nueva Historia de la Gran Literatura Iberoamericana*, 1945) and Pedro Henríquez-Ureña (*Historia de la Cultura en la América Hispánica*, 1947). These two works, without a shadow of a doubt, are forerunners. In both of them one notes an approach in which the totalizing intention prevails in its special emphasis on the diachronic. Torres-Ríoeco's work devotes a separate chapter to Brazilian literature, but at least does not ignore it. The Dominican critic Pedro Henríquez-Ureña makes a stupendous effort at integration, drawing our attention to the definition with which he opens his work: "Hispanic America, which is currently known by the name of Latin America, today covers nineteen nations. The one that speaks Portuguese, i.e. Brazil, is the largest in terms of surface area. Eighteen speak Spanish."<sup>7</sup> Pedro Henríquez-Ureña's words may give the impression that he was opposed to the Pan-Americanist or Latin-Americanist set of political and social ideas, since Brazil was the last country in the region to become part of the continental panorama and has remained under the heading of Hispanicism. In fact, he is making use of the most traditional sense of the Roman concept of Hispania, equivalent today to Iberoamerica.<sup>8</sup>

These initiatives continued into the following decades in the works of Emir Rodríguez Monegal and Ángel Rama, who put together a project likely to integrate Brazil into the continental parameters. The two major Uruguayan critics first had the advantage of living in a bordering country. Given the extraordinary differences that stood between them, it is surprising that they became the contemporary Hispano-American critics who took so much interest in Brazilian literature. Monegal spent a better part of his youth in Brazil, which made it easier for him to understand the language. The integrating qualities of the author's critique stands out in almost all of his work; this is clear to see in the list of contributors to the famous *Mundo Nuevo*, published in the 1960s and, especially, in the *Borzoi Anthology of Latin American Literature*. As for Ángel Rama, the original intention of his extraordinary editorial project—the "Ayacucho Library Collection"—was to incorporate literary works of Brazil. Although Rama came to know Brazilian literature after Monegal, in 1954 he had already published an article on the "Nueva Poesía Brasileña."<sup>9</sup> Ángel Rama is also regarded as one of the first, if not the first, to make a comparative study of the Argentine avant-garde movement—"Martinferrismo"—with the Brazilian modernism of 1922, in an article with the encouraging title "Las Dos Vanguardias Latinoamericanas."<sup>10</sup>

The most important thing today is to shed light on those critics who, as Lezama Lima said, constructed “a bridge, a huge bridge you can’t see” (“*un puente, un gran puente que no se le ve*”).

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In the early decades of the twentieth century, José Veríssimo was the most informed Brazilian intellectual about the social, historical and literary issues in Latin America. Albeit a contemporary of Manoel Bomfim and Sílvio Romero—who fueled the fierce debate in their books with the same title, *América Latina*, published in 1905 and 1906 respectively—, Veríssimo’s approach is completely different from theirs. His historical knowledge of the political development of countries such as Argentina, Mexico, Venezuela and Paraguay, as well as his keen political understanding, always helped him to strike out against the Monroe Doctrine. And he maintained an engaged and vehement position, without in any way sliding towards the impressionism of the time. Veríssimo also distinguished himself from his predecessors by jettisoning the racist or evolutionist theories, which Bomfim and Romero were still applying. Of all of the intellectuals at the beginning of the twentieth century, he was undoubtedly the one who was following the literature of the Hispanic countries the most closely. There was already a conception of a “*Latin American literature*” with a continentalist vision, which openly assumed the rhetoric of “We, Latin Americans,” and which drew early attention to the processes of mutual exclusion existing between Brazil and its neighbors:

I’ve already had the opportunity to confess my ignorance of Hispano-American literatures. I believe that in all fairness it is true of all my companions, albeit men of letters. I’ve also said that this ignorance is reciprocal; that is to say, the other Hispano-Americans (I say the others because we too are Hispano-Americans,...) are also ignorant of our literatures.<sup>11</sup>

Of Veríssimo’s seven articles on literature collected by João Alexandre Barbosa in *Cultura, Literatura e Política na América Latina*, three refer to Argentine literature. Whether due to geographical proximity, or to the intellectual quality of its works, Argentina was the country that aroused the most interest amongst Brazilians. In this regard, Veríssimo did not limit his praise for Bartolomé Mitre and Paul Groussac, the latter being director of the National Library in Buenos Aires and editor of the *Anales de la Biblioteca*. He



was an equally avid reader of José Ingenieros, one of the most important Argentine thinkers and writers of the nineteenth century. It was José Veríssimo's task to record the translations into Spanish of *Inocência* by Taunay, *Canaã* by Graça Aranha, and *Esau e Jacó* by Machado de Assis that were made by Roberto Payró at the beginning of the twentieth century. Veríssimo's level of information and his ability to keep up-to-date is indeed striking. Only Mário de Andrade, Brito Broca and Manuel Bandeira were able to achieve a similar vision in the decades to come.

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A voracious writer, tireless bibliophile and keen correspondent, Mário de Andrade always insisted on keeping abreast of what was happening in the literature and arts of the neighboring countries of Brazil, in particular Argentina. Perhaps full of anarchistic ideals and global confraternization, Mário de Andrade rejected any defense of nationalism in the name of universal values. This is why he also rebelled against the idea of Latin America: "But any and all spread of the concept of motherland, which does not include all of humankind, appears obnoxious to me. I 'loathe' this much talkabout *Latin America* today."<sup>12</sup> In spite of this statement, Mário de Andrade was one of the pioneering scholars of this integrative vision. His amazing essays on Argentine literature, published in 1927 and 1928 in the *Diário Nacional* of São Paulo, provide a fair understanding of his grasp of the entire Argentine literature of the time. It is indeed he who, to a certain extent, lends continuity to José Veríssimo's integrationist thought, and he who also was able to express early and correct opinions, such as "Borges appears to me to be the most outstanding personality of Argentina's modern generation."<sup>13</sup> Nothing, however, attracted him more than the comparison Brazil/Argentina, São Paulo/Buenos Aires. Mário was interested in a comparative work of cultures, almost a thesis in social anthropology. He insisted on a difference based on the *social psychology* of the Brazilian, as opposed to that of the Argentine, Peruvian or Mexican. He did not neglect the geographical diversities, showing the profound differences between the impact on the cultural imagination of sterile regions like Patagonia and of the lush Amazon region that was a source of inspiration for *Macunaíma*. Furthermore, Mário de Andrade looked at the different qualities that define the Brazilian and Argentine ways of speaking. His literary considerations are suggestive of a writer who was well-informed about the intellectual pulse of the bordering country.

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An avid reader and literary critic, with the chronicle as his preferred genre, Brito Broca published seven essays under the title *Americanos* (first series, 1944) with the publishing house Guaíba of Curitiba. Currently, the Brito Broca collection of the University of Campinas—at the “Alexandre Eulalio Cultural Documentation Center” (CEDAE)—has a second series, also composed of seven articles.<sup>14</sup> (It is not known if they were organized by Brito Broca himself or by Alexandre Eulalio.) Besides these, there are approximately a dozen other articles of a similar theme published in Rio de Janeiro in the 1940s under the heading *Latin American Literature* and, subsequently, *Pan-American Literature*, in the newspapers *Cultura e Política* and *A Manhã*. It is important to know that Brito Broca’s continental vision is extensive, including authors such as Walt Whitman, James Fenimore Cooper and Mark Twain. Although the emphasis is on the Hispano-Americans, Brito Broca’s literary excursion is a true exercise in comparative literature. While the tone is impressionist, descriptive and anecdotal, his intuition enables him to draw accurate literary parallels. What is stunning is the number of readings the critic offers; after José Veríssimo, it is Brito Broca who most explicitly claims an integrationist cultural policy in the continent.

In his readings of various authors, Brito Broca gave special importance to geographic space over language as a differentiating form of expression. This explains his fascination for the Argentine pampas in the texts of W. H. Hudson, Ricardo Güiraldes and Benito Lynch, for the Colombian wilderness in *La Vorágine* by José Eustasio Rivera, and for the Colombian hinterland in *María* by Jorge Isaacs. This very predilection for geography prompted him to describe Latin American literary works from Paris (“A Sedução de Paris”), highlighting the Guatemalan Enrique Gómez Carrillo’s chronicle and placing him as a counterpoint to the Brazilian writer João do Rio: Broca found more color and vibration in João do Rio’s style, according to him, unquestionably more artistic than Gómez Carrillo’s.

By tracking the interest Brazilian intellectuals showed for Hispano-American literature, Brito Broca highlighted the role played by the modernists, in particular Ronald de Carvalho, in the poems of *Toda América*. As the critic suggests, the first Argentine novel translated into Portuguese was *O Mal Metafísico* by Manuel Gálvez. He also stressed the importance of Monteiro Lobato in spreading Hispano-American literature through the *Revista do Brasil* and the “South American Library,” in which were published

*Facundo* by Sarmiento and *Nacha Regules* by Gálvez. Moreover, in 1947, under the pseudonym Miguel P. García, Monteiro Lobato is said to have published in Buenos Aires the didactic and political novel designed to promote Perón's five-year plan, *La Nueva Argentina*. Brito Broca also kept records of the visits made to Brazil by Miguel Ángel Asturias and Horacio Quiroga. The latter, author of *Cuentos de la Selva* and *Anaconda*, was the target of a funny greeting by Lobato, during the tribute paid to him in São Paulo by various writers; Brito Broca recalled that

[Lobato] called him a friend of snakes, the greatest *cobrophile* until then known. Living with them in the land of *Misiones*, raising them with love, as soon as [Quiroga] got to São Paulo, his first question was: 'Where is Butantã?', i.e. the 'Instituto Butantã de São Paulo' for snakes, ophidia, etc. 'Those of us who knew of this craze of his,' said Lobato, 'would try to throw a snake party.' Tables wrapped in anacondas, viper waiters, rattlesnake broth, rat snake sausage, omelet made of jararaca eggs and various bottles of antidote.

The most important journey undertaken by Brito Broca was to Buenos Aires and La Plata in 1947. It led to lively interviews with Roberto Giusti, Eduardo Mallea and Benito Lynch. Although the critic's readings indicate a tendency for settling literary scores, his appreciation of Jorge Luis Borges appears watered down and indirect. Thus, as with most Argentines, he too became aware of Borges' work only through the French:

There is at the present moment in Argentina a very original writer of great merit, whose work has been much appreciated in France: Jorge Luis Borges... In Brazil, who knows him? Who reads him? Except for my friend Alexandre Eulalio, more and more in love with the spiritual refinement and poetic humor of books such as *Historia de la Infamia*, I reckon only two or three extravagant persons know his work, since it still happens to be more or less exceptional for one of us to get interested in a Hispano-American writer.<sup>15</sup>

It does seem odd that, twenty years after Mário de Andrade introduced Borges to the Brazilians through articles in the *Diário Nacional*, Brito Broca should exclude Mário from his panorama of Latin-Americanists and rediscover Borges via Europe. In a creative reading of the relations between Brito Broca/Alexandre Eulalio/Borges, Davi Arrigucci Jr. highlights the



“[inability] of an appropriate critical recognition of the great writer and his true position vis-à-vis the tradition from which he arose,” and describes this dialogue as “ghost talk.”<sup>16</sup> In fact, when Brito Broca visited Buenos Aires, Borges had already published not only *Ficciones* but also various books of poetry and essays.

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The path that was opened by José Veríssimo, followed ten years later by Mário de Andrade, and productively tracked by Brito Broca, comes to a moment of extraordinary expressiveness in Manuel Bandeira. Bandeira distinguishes himself in various ways from his predecessors, in particular by the professional character of his studies. Bandeira taught Hispano-American literature at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro from 1943 to 1956, and he was the first to disseminate Hispano-American literature in Brazil *in a systematic fashion*. Among these works, the two editions of *Literatura Hispano-Americana* (1949 and 1960), and the *Três Conferências sobre Cultura Hispano-Americana* (1959) are worth mentioning. Bandeira also succeeded in crossing a huge publishing bridge with his *Panorama de la Poesía Brasileña* (1951), published by the Mexican publisher Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Although called *Literatura Hispano-Americana*, the book is far more than that. It includes a broad reading of the culture of Latin America from the pre-Colombian manifestations up to Bandeira's contemporary poets and essayists. It is quite astonishing to think that, in spite of the 27 chapters chronologically organized, this chronology is subject to a very individual taste. The book is likely to hold our attention on even the most diverse subjects such as “Os Primeiros Colégios e Universidades: A Introdução da Imprensa,” or on the chapters fully devoted to his favorite chroniclers, poets, playwrights and essayists (such as Garcilaso de la Vega, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, Andrés Bello or Rodó). In this regard, Bandeira dwells on the many different types of literary genre that constitute Hispano-American literature—from the narratives of the discovery, baroque and modernist poetry, to contemporary criticism. If Bandeira's work is erudite, startling with its number of readings and amount of information, it is not cumulative, sterile or tiring, and almost seems like an encyclopedia. His criticism is extremely opinionated, yet he scarcely makes qualitative mistakes in his assessment. For example, when dealing with the baroque poets, he exalts the poetry of Sor Juana. On the other hand, Bandeira asserts that “the terrible quality of the Mexican Gongorists is abundantly documented in the *Triunfo Parténico* by Carlos de

Sigüenza y Góngora... Their poetry is worthless.”<sup>17</sup> His taste for comparative work and desire for a Latin American literary policy is evident in the opening of the chapter, “Literatura do Descobrimento e da Conquista”: “just as the *Carta* of Pero Vaz de Caminha begins the Portuguese-language literature in Brazil, the *Cartas-Relaciones* of Columbus initiate the Spanish-language literature in Hispano-America.”<sup>18</sup> Similarly, he compares the Peruvian poet Caviedes to Gregório de Matos: “Caviedes was the incarnation of Lima’s spirit; he became the shaker of many a hornet’s nest in the Society of Lima through his disabused and mordant satires.”<sup>19</sup> Yet another of his moments of critical daring was to consider Herrera y Reissig to be of better quality than Rubén Darío: “he was Uruguay’s greatest poet, one of the most original voices of Hispano-American poetry, considered by some to be substantially stronger and more genuine than that of Darío himself.”<sup>20</sup>

Bandeira also informs the reader that the important Argentine novelist of the nineteenth century, José Mármol, author of *Amalia*, lived in Rio de Janeiro for two years, between 1843 and 1844: “Here he wrote the major part of his long poem *El Peregrino*, a kind of American *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*, with a song entirely devoted to Brazil.”<sup>21</sup> Another surprising presence in Rio de Janeiro during the nineteenth century is that of the Argentine poet and journalist Carlos Guido y Spano:

At the age of thirteen [in 1842], he came to Rio de Janeiro, where his father served as a diplomat. Guido y Spano succeeded in mastering the Portuguese language, into which he translated Lamartine’s *Raphael*. In Rio he took part in the Romantic Movement and his prestige in our literary circles can be judged by the fact that Gonçalves Dias, already famous and four years older than him, should have asked him to write a preface to *Últimos Cantos*.<sup>22</sup>

Unlike earlier critics, Bandeira also includes the most important Hispano-American female voices in his wide-ranging repertoire. He earned the honor of being the first to earnestly divulge the name of Sor Juana de la Cruz, decades before she became fashionable as a feminist. Moreover, he described her as a “feminist nun” in 1949.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps due to his relationship with Gabriela Mistral, who was a personal friend during his official stay in Rio de Janeiro, Bandeira includes the most expressive voices of women’s poetry of the early decades of the twentieth century—Mistral herself, Delmira Agustini, María Eugenia Vaz Ferreira, Juana de Ibarbourou and Alfonsina Storni.

The authors Bandeira has commented on are indicative of his awareness of the best avant-garde poetry of the continent. In this regard, major Nicaraguan poets are mentioned, such as Salomón de la Selva, José Coronel Urtecho, Pablo Antonio Cuadra, Vallejo, Huidobro, Neruda and Carrera Andrade. Bandeira also became familiar with Afro-American poetry through the voices of Nicolás Guillén, Emilio Ballagas and Palés Matos.

Bandeira also knew the *Martinfierrista* generation, mentioning the manifestos and magazines, as well as the very important Mexican generation surrounding the magazine *Contemporáneos*. But here he makes two serious errors. First, he did not articulate the relationship between these movements and the Week of 1922, where he played an active role; second, he virtually ignored the presence of Borges, who had already published various books of poetry, essays, *Ficciones* and *El Aleph*. Bandeira was very close to Mário de Andrade and Alfonso Reyes. Both, in turn, knew the Argentine writer. Nevertheless, the only reference to Borges is odd: "A young Argentine poet who then lived in Madrid, Jorge Luis Borges, born in 1900, on returning to Buenos Aires in 1921, began the promotion of 'ultraism' among his fellow countrymen..."<sup>24</sup>

If, on the one hand, it is surprising how little attention he gave to Borges, on the other hand, the special importance given to Mariátegui is pleasing: "America has prematurely lost in José Carlos Marátegui (1891-1930) one of its strongest and noblest personalities."<sup>25</sup>

Unlike José Veríssimo, Mário de Andrade and Brito Broca, Bandeira did not give any special importance to the Argentines. They are nonetheless duly represented and compared in the continental description attempted by the author of *Libertinagem*.

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Manuel Bandeira's chair at the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) was succeeded by Bella Jozef, author of *História da Literatura Hispano-Americana*.<sup>26</sup> It has been reissued several times and is an essential textbook for Brazilian students of Hispano-American literature today.

Raúl Antelo belongs to the new generation of critics committed, as I am, to eliminating the line of Tordesillas. An Argentine residing in Brazil, bilingual and bicultural, his work, *Na Ilha de Marapatá: Mário de Andrade lê os Hispano-Americanos* (1986), is dedicated to the readings that Mário de Andrade made of the Hispano-Americans. It's a kind of ideological snapshot of the time, based on readings, marginal annotations, clippings and

correspondence by Mário de Andrade with the Hispano-American world. Antelo also demonstrates how the selective process of the São Paulo writer influenced his poetic works. Far from confining himself to the Hispanic material in the work of Mário de Andrade, Antelo shows us the Brazilian presence in Hispanic America. For instance, it includes two rare reviews by Borges of 1933: one of *Versos* by Paulo de Magalhães, and another of *Nordeste e Outros Poemas do Brasil* by Ribeiro Couto, as well as an article by María Rosa Oliver, published in *Sur*, on the occasion of Mário de Andrade's death. This work has some continuity with the essay "*Macunaima: Apropriação e Originalidade*," which was published in the critical edition of *Macunaima* in the collection "Archives," and in which Antelo learnedly reveals the Latin American roots of the novel.<sup>27</sup>

Davi Arrigucci Jr.'s work escapes any simple categorization, in particular his brilliant work on Julio Cortázar—*O Escorpião Encalacrado* (1973)—, unfortunately inaccessible to the Hispano-American public not so much because of the enigmatic title but rather because of the fatality of having been written in Portuguese.

Antonio Candido and Haroldo de Campos today represent the two major pillars of the integrative discourse of cultures in Brazil. Both have incorporated into their reflections the literary and critical works of Hispanic America. In his classic essay "Literatura e Subdesenvolvimento" (1972), Antonio Candido weaves together relations that are founded on the ties of mutual cultural dependence, the awareness of underdevelopment and the importance of models in order to finally bolster regionalism and integrate it with a super-regionalism. His criticism, as defined by Davi Arrigucci Jr., clearly

. . . defends and demonstrates through analytical practices the legitimacy of the historical point of view in the study of literature, without abandoning an aesthetic perspective. The latter cannot be mistaken, in his view, with any reductive formalism, and seeks to address the work as reality itself, without however losing sight of human, psychic and social reality, to which the former relates, without being confined to it.<sup>28</sup>

Besides his critical work, Antonio Candido has distinguished himself for having favored integrationist cultural policies and projects in the past decades, to which I will return shortly.



Haroldo de Campos already favors *topos* over *chronos*. Inspired by Eliot, Jakobson and Borges, his theoretical construction is based on a synchronic poetics.<sup>29</sup> In “Superação das Linguagens Exclusivas” (1972), expanded and published in Brazil as *Ruptura dos Gêneros na Literatura Latino-Americana* (1977), the founder of Concrete Poetry crosses the frontiers of aesthetic categories: the merging of poetry and prose (Lezama Lima, Clarice Lispector, Guimarães Rosa, Severo Sarduy), metalanguage (Machado de Assis, Macedonio Fernández, Jorge Luis Borges, Julio Cortázar), or a poetic lineage which points to the concreteness of the poem (Huidobro, Paz, Parra; Drummond, João Cabral and the concrete poets themselves). As one who “transcreates,” Haroldo de Campos represents one of the most fecund and creative voices in this dialogue: Sor Juana, Vallejo, Cortázar and the marvelous *Transblanco* by Octavio Paz. Incorporated into this *paideuma* are also Huidobro, Gironde, Lezama Lima and Sarduy.

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I would now like to mention some of the projects that make Latin America a unified cultural *corpus* that actively includes Brazil.

First of all, the collection of “Latin American Literature” by the Casa de las Américas (Cuba), begun in 1963, is an impressive and pioneering attempt at this integrative vision. The first title is appropriately *Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas* by Machado de Assis. Of the 134 titles hitherto published, 33 belong to Brazil.<sup>30</sup>

Second, the already mentioned *América Latina en su Literatura*, published in 1972 with UNESCO’s sponsorship, is a forerunner to the scholarship on Latin America as a totalizing perspective of cultures. In the form of essays brought together thematically, the twenty-seven contributions include twelve countries. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda and Afonso Arinos de Melo Franco represented Brazil in various preparatory meetings that began in Buenos Aires in 1969. As a result, four first-rate Brazilian intellectuals were included in the volume: Antonio Houaiss, who dealt with the linguistic plurality of the Iberian countries; Haroldo de Campos, with the already mentioned essay “Superação das Linguagens Exclusivas;” Antonio Candido, with his classic “Literatura e Subdesenvolvimento;” and José Guilherme Merquior, who studied the role of the writer in the continent since the colonial times. For the very first time, a project proposed a coherent attempt to pull down the wall of Tordesillas. The objective is stated explicitly in the introduction by César Fernández Moreno:



This is why we have requested that everyone collaborate on the project, to try to deal with their works based on this concept of unity. To meet such a request naturally presented serious difficulties, given the traditional lack of communication that has existed among the countries of Latin America, in particular with regard to its linguistic regions: Latin America includes a large area, almost a continent in itself, that speaks Portuguese, and which does not always have a complete vision of what is happening in the Spanish-speaking areas, and vice versa.<sup>31</sup>

As a result of this unifying and interactive proposal, the four Brazilians cast an all-embracing glance over American literatures and languages. But with only a few exceptions, the same cannot be said of their Hispano-American colleagues vis-à-vis Brazilian literature and language.

Third, the "Ayacucho Library" is a project that was designed by Ángel Rama and begun in 1976. With the assistance of Antonio Candido, this collection, which perhaps drew inspiration from the model of Casa de las Américas, significantly incorporates Brazilian literary works. The works translated into Spanish provide those interested with a bridge to Brazilian literature and culture, as do the introductory texts to Brazilian literary criticism.

A fourth and quite different editorial project is the collection "Archives," organized by Amos Segala and also sponsored by UNESCO. Eight signatory countries support the project. It publishes critical editions in original languages and thus with a profile totally different from that of Casa de las Américas or the "Ayacucho Library". Besides looking for the definitive edition of the text, with all its variants, the works are published with a plethora of critical material. Twenty-two countries, including Dominica, Jamaica, Guyana and Haiti, participate in the project. Two facts deserve special attention. First, the collection "Archives," as well as the Casa de las Américas, includes the French- and English-speaking countries of the Caribbean in their concept of Latin America. Second, Brazil is represented by the same number of volumes as Argentina and Mexico, twelve in all. Some volumes have already been released: *Macunaíma* by Mário de Andrade, *A Paixão Segundo G. H.* by Clarice Lispector and *Crônica da Casa Assassinada* by Lúcio Cardoso, for instance. Of all the projects already accomplished, the collection "Archives" has the largest number of collaborators and is the most ambitious and comprehensive.

Equally worth mentioning are two additional projects. The first, conceived years ago by Ángel Rama and Antonio Candido, has three volumes scheduled for the collection *Latin America: Culture, Language and Literature*. It was originally conceived of as a three-volume history of literature with one-third of the compiled essays in Portuguese. Currently, those responsible for the project are Ana Pizarro for the Hispanic part and Antonio Candido, Alfredo Bosi and Roberto Schwarz for each of the parts devoted to Brazil.

The last project is “DELAL”: *Diccionario de las Letras de América Latina*, organized by Nelson Osório Tejada, a true encyclopedia with 2200 entries that were written by specialists from various countries and in which Brazil will be duly represented.

Last but not least, I would like to point out that the work of Torres-Río seco, Casa de las Américas, the “Ayacucho Library”, the “Borzoï Anthology”, the “Collection Archives” and the dictionary “DELAL” all place Brazil *next* to Hispano-America. And by next to is meant the literal sense of Brazil *alongside* Hispanic America. It is perhaps utopian to seek a *unified*, intertwined, representation. Some of the critics mentioned in this text have already done so to an extent. At any rate, it is striking that classics such as *Formação da Literatura Brasileira* by Antonio Candido have not been translated into Spanish nor a single book of essays by Haroldo de Campos. It is as if Brazil, to Hispano-American readers, is of interest only as an entry in reference works. If it is true that the Fifth Centenary of the arrival of the Portuguese in Brazil was commemorated in the year 2000, I sincerely hope that we won't have to wait until the twenty-first century for our neighbors to discover Brazilian literature.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Andrade, “Literatura Modernista Argentina.”

<sup>2</sup> *Favorables Paris Poemas 2* (Oct. 1926): 14.

<sup>3</sup> Already in 1914, upon making a rough copy of the book by Oliveira Lima, *América Latina e América Inglesa*, José Veríssimo observed: “There isn't in the Portuguese conquest of America anything comparable to the Spanish conquest of Mexico, Peru or Chile. The civil fights here never—thank goodness—were repeated, lasted or saw the same massacres as the Spanish colonies, prior to or after independence.”

<sup>4</sup> Monegal 12.

<sup>5</sup> See Ardao.

<sup>6</sup> Moreno 9.

<sup>7</sup> Henríquez-Ureña 7.

<sup>8</sup> Ardao points out: "In its broad acceptance, based on the former application of the Roman name Hispania to all of the Iberian peninsula, Hispano-America—with its variants Hispano America and especially Hispanic America—covers both the Spanish and Portuguese Americas: the American countries of Spanish origin and Brazil" (21).

<sup>9</sup> See *El Nacional*, 17 May 1954.

<sup>10</sup> *Maldoror* 9 (1973): 58-64.

<sup>11</sup> Veríssimo 74.

<sup>12</sup> Monegal 74.

<sup>13</sup> Monegal 101.

<sup>14</sup> The following quotes from Brito Broca's essays as well as newspapers reports were obtained in the archives of the aforementioned "Centro de Documentação Alexandre Eulálio" (CEDAE) at Universidade de Campinas (UNICAMP).

<sup>15</sup> See note 14.

<sup>16</sup> Arrigucci Jr., "Conversa entre Fantasmas" 71.

<sup>17</sup> Bandeira, *Literatura Hispano-Americana*.

<sup>18</sup> Bandeira, *Literatura* 15.

<sup>19</sup> Bandeira, *Literatura* 65.

<sup>20</sup> Bandeira, *Literatura* 166-67.

<sup>21</sup> Bandeira, *Literatura* 95.

<sup>22</sup> Bandeira, *Literatura* 97.

<sup>23</sup> Bandeira, *Literatura* 63.

<sup>24</sup> Bandeira, *Literatura* 198-99.

<sup>25</sup> Bandeira, *Literatura* 207.

<sup>26</sup> Petrópolis: Vozes, 1971.

<sup>27</sup> *Macunatima. O Herói Sem Nenhum Caráter* by Mário de Andrade, Critical edition, ed. Telé Ancona Lopez (Brasília: CNPq, 1988) 255-265.

<sup>28</sup> Arrigucci Jr., "Movimentos de um Leitor."

<sup>29</sup> Campos., "Texto e História."

<sup>30</sup> The first ten Brazilian titles, published in Spanish, are as follows: Machado de Assis, *Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas*, 1963 (trans. A. Alatorre); Graciliano Ramos, *Vidas Secas*, 1964 (prologue by José Rodríguez Feo); Carolina Maria de Jesus, *La Favela*, 1965 (prologue by Mario Trejo); José Lins do Rego, *Niño de Ingenio*, 1969 (prologue by José Triana); Carlos Drummond de Andrade, *Poemas*, 1970 (prologue by Muñoz Unsain); Machado de Assis, *Várias Historias*, 1972 (prologue by Antonio Benítez Rojo); Euclides da Cunha, *Los Sertones*, 1973 (prologue by Glauber Rocha); Jorge Amado, *Gabriela, Clavo y Canela*, 1975 (prologue by Adolfo Martí Fuentes); João Guimarães Rosa, *Gran Sertón: Veredas*, 1979 (prologue by Trinidad Pérez Valdés). I thank Silvia Gil for this useful information.

<sup>31</sup> Moreno 17.

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Victor Meirelles

*The First Mass in Brazil*

1860

Oil on canvas

268x356cm

Museu Nacional de Belas Artes





Lia Mittrakis

*The First Mass in Brazil on April 26, 1500*

1980

Acrylic on canvas

1.14x1.44m

Museu Internacional de Arte Naif do Brasil



PRIMEIRA MISSA  
AO BRASIL NO DIA  
26 DE ABR. DE 1500

EM PARANÁ  
EM 1539

ERGO DE SANTACRUZ  
EM TEUS OMBROS RIQUEZAS  
SE MIRA, POSSUINDO RELEZAS MIL!

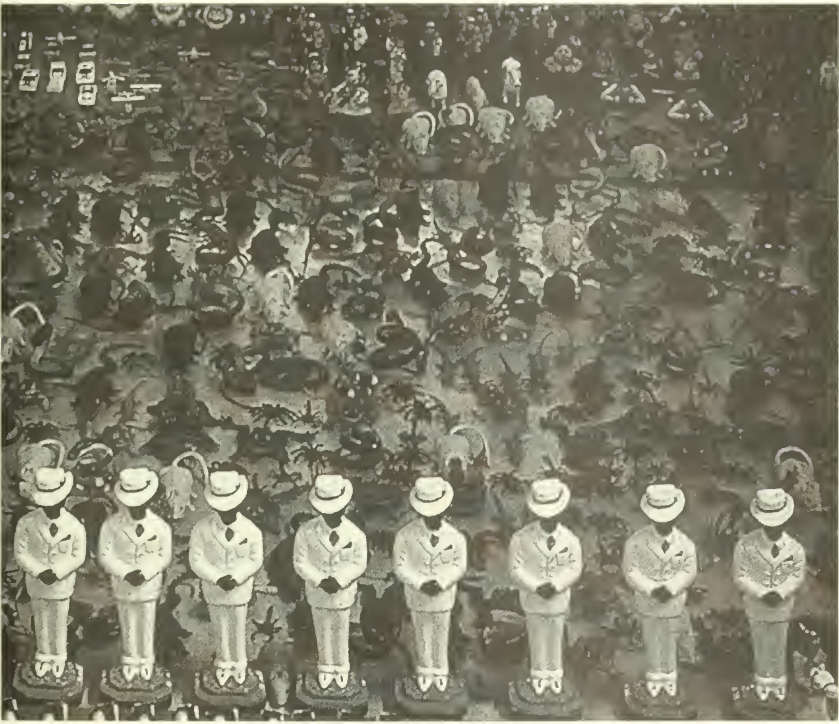
Nelson Leirner

*Land at First Sight (The First Mass)*

1983-2000

Mixed media

Museu de Arte Contemporanea da Prefeitura de Niterói



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